

## Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY AF/S:FGWISNER:WLK

APPROVED BY AF:WESCHAUFEELE

S/- MR. COLLUMS

/S - MR. ORTIZ

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Z 102036Z AUG 76 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY FLASH

S E C R E T STATE 198325 TOSEC 200281

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AF-SCHAUFEELE

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SF, US, RH

SUBJECT:ACTION MEMORANDUM:SOUTH AFRICAN STATEMENT ON  
RHODESIA (S/S NO.7617123)

1. THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR CALLED ON ME URGENTLY TO  
SAY THAT HIS FOREIGN MINISTER WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A STATEMENT  
ON THE RHODESIAN SITUATION THURSDAY MORNING AT THE OPENING  
OF THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL PARTY IN NATAL.  
THE STATEMENT WOULD BE ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

2. QUOTE. AFTER QUOTING AND ANALYZING THE SALIENT POINTS  
ON SOUTHERN AFRICA IN DR. KISSINGER'S BOSTON ADDRESS, THE  
MINISTER WILL ARGUE THAT THESE QUOTATIONS LEAVE NO DOUBT  
THAT DR. KISSINGER IS NOT ADVOCATING THE COMPLETE AND UNCON-  
DITIONAL SURRENDER OF THE WHITE MINORITY TO THE BLACK  
MAJORITY. ALL INDICATIONS ARE THAT HE IS AIMING TO REACH  
A SITUATION WHERE THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF THE WHITE  
MINORITY WOULD BE PROTECTED. ONE GETS THE IMPRESSION THAT  
DR. KISSINGER HAS IN MIND NOT ONLY CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES.  
HOWEVER, TIME WILL CLARIFY PRECISELY WHAT IS INVOLVED.

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3. QUOTE. WE WOULD HOPE THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO

GUARANTEE THE SAFETY AND ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTERESTS AND RIGHTS OF THE WHITE MINORITY, CONSTITUTIONALLY AND OTHERWISE, IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEY THEMSELVES WOULD FEEL CONVINCED THAT A SAFE AND SOUND FUTURE EXISTS FOR THEM IN THEIR COUNTRY. IF SUCH A SOLUTION IS SOUGHT, THERE IS MERIT IN IT AND IT SHOULD BE GENERALLY WELCOMED.

4. QUOTE. IN THE LIGHT OF ALL THIS NOBODY CAN EXPECT SOUTH AFRICA TO WITHHOLD ITS SUPPORT FROM THE EFFORTS BY DR. KISSINGER AND OTHERS SIMPLY BECAUSE MAJORITY RULE IS THE POINT FROM WHICH THEY PROCEED: (THIS PRINCIPLE HAS AFTER ALL BEEN INHERENT IN RHODESIAN CONSTITUTIONAL PHILOSOPHY). END QUOTE.

5. TO THE LAST PARAGRAPH OF THE OUTLINE STATEMENT BOTHA SAID THAT HE WOULD ASK HIS MINISTER TO FIT IN THE FOLLOWING PHRASE: "ALTHOUGH WE ARE REALISTICALLY ALIVE TO THE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED."

6. BOTHA UNDERSCORED THE POLITICAL PRESSURES VORSTER IS FACING AS A RESULT OF THE PROTRACTED NEGOTIATIONS OVER NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA. THE AMBASSADOR MADE SUBSTANTIALLY THE SAME POINTS WITH ME YESTERDAY WHEN WE MET. HIS GOVERNMENT FEELS THAT IT MUST BEGIN TO DEAL WITH CONCERNS WITHIN THE NATIONAL PARTY AND PREPARE THE SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC FOR A CHANGE IN POLICY. IT HAS DECIDED TO TAKE THE ADVANTAGE OF THE FIRST OF A NUMBER OF LOCAL PARTY CONGRESSES TO GO ON RECORD.

7. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS AWARE THAT THE LAST PARAGRAPH OF THE MESSAGE WILL BE INTERPRETED IN THE MEDIA AS TELLING THE RHODESIANS THAT THE "GAME IS UP." AS URGENTLY AS THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WISHES TO GO ON RECORD IT WILL NOT DO SO UNLESS YOU AGREE. BOTHA ASKED ME TO EMPHASIZE WITH YOU THAT PRETORIA WISHES TO STAY IN CLOSE STEP WITH YOU. HE ASKS HOWEVER THAT YOU UNDERSTAND THE PRESSURES HIS GOVERNMENT IS UNDER.

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8. IF YOU HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THE STATEMENT, BOTHA THEN HOPES THAT WE WILL TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IT TO SCORE A POINT WITH THE BLACK AFRICANS. SPECIFICALLY, HE SUGGESTS ADVANCE MESSAGES TO KAUNDA AND NYERERE REFERRING TO THE TEXT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATEMENT TO POINT OUT THAT THIS STATEMENT IS AN INDICATION OF WHAT OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS HAVE ACHIEVED SO FAR. EVEN THOUGH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE, MANY DIFFICULTIES LIE AHEAD. WE WOULD ALSO

ENCOURAGE KAUNDA AND NYERERE TO READ THE STATEMENT AS AN

INDICATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S BONA FIDES AND RESIST THE  
TEMPTATION OF BELITTling IT OR SHOOTING IT DOWN.

9. RECOMMENDATION: ONCE THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE ON THE  
RECORD, WE RUN THE OBVIOUS RISK OF ENCOURAGING THE AFRICAN  
PRESIDENTS TO BARGAIN FOR BETTER TERMS. HOWEVER, VORSTER  
FEELS HE MUST PREPARE HIS PUBLIC FOR A CHANGE OF POLICY ON  
RHODESIA AND MOUNTING PRESS LEAKS MAY HAVE CAUSED HIM TO  
FEEL TIME HAS RUN OUT. I DON'T THINK WE CAN TURN VORSTER  
DOWN; IN FACT, HIS MINISTER'S OUTLINE STATEMENT CONTAINS  
HELPFUL ELEMENTS. I RECOMMEND YOU AUTHORIZE ME TO GIVE  
BOTH THE CLEARANCE HE SEEKS.

APPROVE                      DISAPPROVE

10. MESSAGES FROM YOU TO KAUNDA AND NYERERE ARE BEING  
DRAFTED.

CLEARED: S:HCOLLUMS.

ROBINSON

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NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** TOSEC, HUMAN RIGHTS, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, BRIEFING MATERIALS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, PRESS RELEASES, MINORITIES, CAT-C  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 10 AUG 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976STATE198325  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** FGWISNER:WLK  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** P840089-2203, N760006-0238  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760867/aaaacgsv.tel  
**Line Count:** 137  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 02 JUL 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <02 JUL 2004 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <06 JUL 2004 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** ACTION MEMORANDUM: SOUTH AFRICAN STATEMENT ON RHODESIA  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PGOV, US, RH, SF, (MULLER, HILGARD)  
**To:** SECRETARY  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006